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# SPEECH

OF THE

HON. EDWARDS PIERREPONT

IN FAVOR OF THE

ELECTION OF GEN. GRANT,

DELIVERED AT THE GREAT MEETING OF THE

GRANT DEMOCRACY,

HELD AT COOPER'S INSTITUTE,

*Wednesday, Oct. 21, 1868.*

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## SPEECH OF HON. EDWARDS PIERREPONT.

Mr. PRESIDENT:

Four years ago, you and I, and many patriotic men, assembled in this Hall to aid our Country in her day of peril.

We asked no honors and no office ;—*and we received none.*

Four eventful years have passed since then,—and now a new danger threatens.

Supported by all who were with us then, by our unfaltering friend Gen. Dix, who speaks to us so well from over the seas, and strengthened by many new and noble men, we meet again upon this platform.

You have been steadfast even unto the end, and it is a bright presage for the future that you preside here to night.

Then, we invoked the God of Battles, and we helped to win the bloody fight : Now, we invoke the Prince of Peace, and, we hope, a far more glorious victory.

FRIENDS AND FELLOW-CITIZENS :

- Old party politics are dead ; the war made new issues. When Lee surrendered his army to General Grant, we thought that the Rebellion was ended : But Treason has a new birth ;—not yet hath it put its armor on ;—not yet does it dare to proclaim its sellest purpose—the seizure of the Government, and the restoration of Slavery ! Now, it seeks by diplomatic arts to win what it lost by war ;—to make treason honorable, and fidelity odious ;—and, as Wade Hampton expresses it, “ To restore the Lost Cause !”

By some strange fatuity, our Northern people will never take warning until it is too late.

They never would believe, until Fort Sumpter fell, that the South meant war. They will not now believe that the crushed Rebellion is reviving!

Have not the enemy murdered enough of your children, to quicken your senses to approaching danger?

The Convention which met at Tammany Hall on the 4th of July, ballotted twenty-two times, running into the 10th day of the month, before Horatio Seymour was nominated as its candidate for President.

In the same Convention, a Rebel General stepped forward and nominated Frank P. Blair for Vice-President. No ballot was needed;—one wild yell of wild enthusiasm filled the Hall;—Blair had the full heart and soul of the Convention. He fairly represented its spirit.

Why did the Convention hesitate so long to nominate Seymour, and why, with such eager unanimity did they hasten to nominate Blair?

Read the list of leading names in that Assembly, and read the speeches of Seymour and the letter of Blair, published just prior to the Convention, and you shall see the reason for this striking difference.

In this list I find one hundred and five men who were Confederate Generals, Colonels, Majors, Captains, Governors, Senators, or Members of the Rebel Congress.

Among them are Wade Hampton, Buckner, Ransom, Vance, Bocock, Hill, Preston, Clingman, Rhett, and the petted General Forrest, remembered for his cruel and inhuman massacre of Union Soldiers, after their surrender, at Fort Pillow.

In that Convention were many good and true men of the North, but they held no sway, and their voice was not regarded.

Mr. Seymour, in his recent speeches, had denounced every form of repudiation. In his Cooper Institute Speech of June 25th, he says:

" If we make our paper money good by a harsh system of contraction, we shall cripple the energies of the country, and make bankruptcy and ruin. If, on the other hand, we debase the currency by unwise issues, we equally perplex business, and destroy sober industry, and make all prices mere matters of gambling tricks and chances. This will end as it did in the Southern Confederacy. At the outset, the citizens of Richmond went to market with their money in their vest pockets, and brought back their dinners in their baskets : in the end, they took their money in their baskets, and brought home their dinners in their vest pockets."

In his Albany speech of March 11th, he says :

" The bonds so unwisely and so wastefully issued have gone into the hands of innocent holders, who, to a vast extent, are compulsory owners."

" It is a mistake to suppose that they are mostly held by capitalists. Large sums belonging to children and widows, under the order of Courts or the action of Trustees, have been invested in Government bonds. The vast amounts held by Life and Fire Insurance Companies and Savings Banks are, in fact, held in trust for and are the reliance of the great body of active business and laboring men or women, or of widows and orphans. The Savings Banks of this State, which are the depositories of the poor, or of persons of limited means, hold about \$60,000,000 of Government bonds. The whole amount held in the State of New York, in the forms of trust, will not fall below \$200,000,000. If we look into other States we shall see that only a small share of these bonds are held by men known as capitalists, but they belong, in fact if not in form, to the business, the active and the laboring men of society. The destruction of these securities would make a widespread ruin and distress, which would reach into every workshop and every home, however humble. \* \* \* \* \*

" It is a mistake to suppose that the interests of the bondholder and the tax-payer are antagonistic. The fact is overlooked, that in order to make any saving by giving the bondholder a debased or worthless paper, we must bring upon ourselves *disaster and dishonor* which will cost a hundred fold what we can save. It means that we are to give to the laborer for his toil a base currency : it means that the honor of our country shall be stained : it means

" that our business shall be kept in uncertainty and confusion ; it " means that the laboring man shall suffer by the increased cost of " the comforts of life ; it means that the tax-payer shall be burdened " by a Government proved to be corrupt and imbecile by this very " depreciation of its money. We cannot afford to speculate upon " the Nation's honor at so *fearful a cost.*"

Such might be the words of a sagacious statesman with sound financial views ; such might be the words of a patriot jealous of his country's honor.

Wade Hampton, and the other Rebel generals who dominated over that Convention, had read these speeches.

They knew Seymour to be the son of a New England sire, and they doubted his readiness to sell his birth-right.

Wonder not that they delayed his nomination so long—but wonder and be sad, that a gentleman of the North, whose ideas upon the great question of the day were so just, should be humbled to the earth and bend down before these Rebel generals, all fresh from the slaughter of his countrymen, and take back the noble words he had uttered before they would consent to his nomination !

Seymour assures us that he did not wish to be nominated, but that he was "caught up in a whirlwind" and couldn't help it. A whirlwind is an unsafe thing for Seymour to ride upon. The Prophet "Elijah was taken up by a whirlwind into *heaven*"—and Seymour fancied that he was going to be taken up by the same vehicle, into *the Presidency* ; but he will find it whirling down the other way with terrific speed—about November.

Three days before the Convention met Blair published *his* declaration of principles, using these words :

" There is no possibility of changing the political character of the " Senate, even if the Democrats should elect their President, and " a majority of the popular branch of Congress. We cannot, therefore, " undo the Radical plan of Reconstruction by Congressional " action ; the Senate will continue a bar to its repeal. *Must we* " *submit to it? How can it be overthrown?*

" There is but one way to restore the Government and the Constitution, and that is for the President elect to declare these acts

" null and void, compel the army to undo its usurpations at the South, disperse the Carpet Bag State Governments, allow the white people to re-organize their own Governments, and elect Senators and Representatives.

" We must restore the Constitution before we can restore the finances, and to do this we must have a President who will execute the will of the people, *by trampling into dust* the usurpations of Congress, known as the Reconstruction Acts. I wish to stand before the Convention upon this issue."—There let him stand—there he will stand.

This was purely revolutionary ; this promised lawless violence and war. The letter suited the Convention exactly. Blair knew it would. No ballot was needed for Blair. Blair was the son of a Southern slaveholder. Blair could be trusted. A Rebel General rose and nominated Blair ; and with loud acclaim, 'mid wildest enthusiasm, he was selected.

Seymour bowed down his intellectual head before the Rebel power, accepted a platform which repudiated every just sentiment of his recent speech, and, as friends report—went away sorrowful !

Hear him in reply to the tender of his nomination :

" I have been caught by the great tide that is swelling our party on to victory, and I am unable to resist the pressure."

This is the tide which swept over Pennsylvania and Ohio the other day ; Seymour foresaw it dimly, but he mistook its character ; he thought it was one of those old Democratic tides, which ante-dated the war ; his blinded eyes couldn't see that it swelled out from millions of loyal hearts, heaving with honest love and solicitude for the safety of their country !

Old Democratic leaders for the last ten years, have had no just sense of public opinion. The same kind of Democratic leaders lived eighteen hundred and forty years ago ;—Christ said, they were "fools, and blind, that could discern the signs of the times."

SEYMOUR, continues :

" You have also communicated to me the resolution adopted by

"that Convention. As its Chairman I am familiar with its language  
 "and as a member of that Convention I am a party to its terms  
 "I assent with its views; I stand upon its position in this  
 "contest, and I shall strive hereafter, whether in public or private  
 "life, to carry them into effect."

These resolutions demand repudiation of the Nation's faith, and declare the solemn acts of Congress unconstitutional and void.

This is the first time in our history that a political convention has undertaken to declare what laws of Congress are unconstitutional and void; and the first time that a candidate for the Vice-Presidency has proposed to "TRAMPLE INTO DUST" the Statutes of Congress, which he admits that he could not get repealed.

This platform had the Rebel General Wade Hampton as its chiefbuilder; with defiant boldness he gives us its whole history.

The Charleston *Journal*, informs us, that—

"General Wade Hampton was welcomed by the people of that city, on Friday night, upon his return from the Tammany Convention. He was received by a long procession, and having been conducted to a four-horse carriage, was escorted, like a conquering hero, amid the shouts of the multitude, to his temporary stopping place in the city."

He said:

"More than four years—years which have seen a Nation's death,  
 "which have brought to us sorrow, humiliation and ruin,—have  
 "passed since I last stood in your noble and battle-scarred old city.  
 "Then proudly erect, flushed with victory and devotion in her  
 "patriotism, she held in her heroic hands the key of our State,  
 "defying with indomitable courage, the assaults of her enemies.  
 "While a portion of her sons here guarded so bravely the portals  
 "of the State, others were following the glorious Southern Cross,  
 "wherever it was waving in triumph, or were sleeping their last  
 "sleep on the fields, which their valor had contributed to win. *All*  
 "were doing their duty as Carolinians, and the great historic names  
 "of the Revolution were gilded with a new lustre as the descendants  
 "of Moultrie, of Rutledge, of Lowndes, of Hayne, of Pinckney  
 "and Huger, fought as did their fathers for this dear old Carolina

"of ours." \* \* \* "So long as patriotism, constancy and valor are esteemed, the wondrous story of her defence will stir the hearts of brave men, and noble women will teach their children to lisp the name of Beauregard."

Beauregard you will remember, was an officer in the regular army, was educated at West Point, at the expense of the Government which he had sworn to defend and whose flag he betrayed.

The speech continues—

"I hope and believe that the blessed day of our deliverance is drawing near. The signs in the political skies are full of hope, and we bring back to you from the united Democracy of the North, tidings of great glee."

"After a free and full consultation with delegates in the Convention, representing all the Northern States, I am thoroughly convinced that the great heart of Democracy is fully aroused; that it beats in profound sympathy with the suffering South; that it is fully alive to the dangers which threaten to destroy the Constitution and the Government, and that it is unalterably fixed in its purpose to rescue that Constitution from destruction, to restore that Government to its legitimate functions, and to bring back the Southern States to their place in the Union, with all their rights, dignity and equality unimpaired. These are the objects for which the Democratic party are fighting; and, planting themselves on the Appian way of the Constitution, grasping once more in friendship the hands of their brethren of the South, setting up again the broken altars of the country, they have sworn never to cease fighting until their objects are accomplished.

Thus talks this Rebel General about the Constitution, which he had betrayed, and the Government he fought so long to destroy.

Listen further:

"*I yield to none in devotion to that 'Lost Cause' for which we fought. Never shall I admit that the cause itself failed, and that the principles which gave it life were therefore wrong. Never shall I brand the men who upheld it so nobly as 'rebels' or 'traitors.'*"

\* \* \* \* \*

"As it was my good fortune to be on the Committee which framed this instrument, it may be interesting to you, perhaps, to learn the detail by which it was perfected, and the views of those who made it. As you are aware, the Committee on Resolutions consisted of one member from each State."

"Gentlemen were here from the North, South, East and West, and by all we were met with extreme cordiality. They said they were willing to give us everything we desired; but we of the South must remember that they had a great fight to make, and it would not be policy to place upon that platform that which would endanger *prejudice* at the North."

Wade Hampton must have been a little vexed, at these foolish prejudices of the North against rebellion, against re-enslavement and repudiation of the honest debt. But Northern prejudice did not stand long in the way.

"They, however, pledged themselves to do all in their power to relieve the Southern States, and restore to us the Constitution as it had existed. As we were met in such a kindly spirit, I could not but reciprocate it. I knew that I was representing the feelings of my people when I did so."

(After this apology, we hope that the Rebels will not be *too* hard on Wade Hampton for treating Northern Democrats with common decency.)

"I told them that I could withdraw all the resolutions I have offered, and no doubt other Southern delegates would do the same, and would accept the resolutions offered by Hon. Mr. Bayard, the Senator from Delaware, which declared that the right of suffrage belonged to the States. I said I take the resolutions if they would allow me to add but three words, which you will find embodied in the platform. *I added this: And we declare that the Reconstruction Acts are revolutionary, unconstitutional and void.* When I proposed that every single member of the Committee—and the warmest men in it were the men of the North, came forward and said they would carry it out to the end"

Hear him further :

"Victory will bring even more than this to us, for it will give us, along with constitutional liberty, the right to manage and control our own

" State Government in accordance with the time honored provisions of the  
 " Constitutions of the United States. When may we hope to see the res-  
 " toration of honor and decency in the conduct of affairs; we may hope to  
 " see our rulers as of old, intelligent, patriotic NATIVE BORN—and white.  
 " In that blessed day of deliverance, we shall have no carpet-bag or mili-  
 " tary Governors."

Yes, in that blessed day of the election of Seymour and Blair,  
 "NATIVE BORN" rulers alone are to have peace. Our adopted  
 fellow-citizens are all to be excluded. "NATIVE BORN" is the  
 watchword!

Ho! Rally to the standard of Seymour and of Blair, ye for-  
 eign-born who have adopted our country as your home; in  
 their day of glorious victory none but the *native-born* shall hold  
 a single office.

The Charleston *News*, in concluding its report, says :

"On leaving the stage an attempt was made to secure General  
 " Hampton and raise him on the shoulders of the crowd,"

Governor Sharkey, of Mississippi, says :

"The Democratic party has put a platform that ought to be ac-  
 ceptable to all North and South. Its foundation is laid in the  
 " Constitution. It demands immediate restoration of all the States  
 " to their equal rights in the Union—it declares the Union to be  
 " indissoluble—and it *declares the whole Congressional system of re-*  
*" construction void, and, as a consequence, everything which has been*  
*" done under it void also.* On this platform we of the South can  
 " stand; it will restore us to our rights—to our position of 1865—  
 " *and blot out all that has been done under the arbitrary and un-*  
*" warrantable demands of Congress.*"

He says of Seymour and Blair :

"They cannot falter now, they are committed. They cannot un-  
 " dertake to administer a Government part valid, part void."

And the Mobile *Tribune* adds :

"The great Democratic party will rise in its might, and the dag-

"ger of Brutus may aid in accomplishing our redemption from  
"Radical rule, ruin and usurpation."

"If we are successful in the approaching contest we shall gain  
"all that we lost in the 'Lost Cause.'"

"By the election of Seymour and Blair," says Governor Vance,  
of North Carolina, "all that the Confederacy fought for will be  
"won."

And it is asserted by the Mobile *Register*:

"That the counter-revolution will not be complete without more  
"blood-letting."

And the Richmond *Enquirer* adds:

"The white men of the Southern States have seen the day when  
"they could use the bullet, and, if God in his anger permit the  
"necessity to arrive, they will use it again."

The Georgia Democratic Convention declared :

"There might once have been a necessity for the Rebels of Georgia  
"to submit to the military authorities, but there is none now. The  
"Democratic chivalry of the North are marching to our rescue."

Says Governor Wise:

"Secession is not dead, it is more alive to-day than ever. I sup-  
"port Blair because he promises Revolution."

J. M. Rainsey, of Georgia, declares :

"That the true men of the South are ready to rally once more  
"under the Rebel flag and try the issue of the cartridge box."

Toombs bid defiance in these words :

"The Reconstruction Acts are null and void, and shall not stand.  
"The grinning skeletons that have been set up in our midst as leg-  
"islators shall be ousted by Frank Blair, whom our party has ex-  
"pressly appointed for that purpose."

*Capt. Semmes*, who robbed and burned your unarmed mer-  
chandise, in a ratification speech at Mobile, said :

"I drew my sword against the old flag, \* \* \* \* " I have  
"come here to-night, from the country, to ratify and rejoice with  
"you in the nomination of Seymour and Blair."

Col. Herndon, following him, said :

"If there were any omissions in the platform, the brave and  
"magnanimous speeches of Seymour and Blair supplied them all."

Then reading the letter of Blair, which promised "to trample  
into dust," by military power, the laws of Congress, he ex-  
claimed :

"Who but a brave, true, generous heart could utter such a sen-  
"timent as this?"

The Rebel *Judge Jones* said : "He asked for no better platform  
than the letter of Gen. Blair."

*Mr. Chas. Gibson*, in his speech, said :

"Mr. Blair, in this letter, tells us that if he be elected President  
"of the United States, or become President—he tells you that if  
"he become President of the United States, *he will use the neces-*  
*sary measures to remove the State Governments of the South.*"

The Rebel *Judge Churchill* used the following language :

"Thank God! the people have been ahead of their leaders, *and*  
"*have never believed that their sacred cause was wholly lost. Their*  
"*faith is now rewarded. A great party is now ours, and we should*  
"*all press on to victory.*"

When a Law of Congress is distasteful, the Rebels declare  
that it is unconstitutional, and Blair proposes to "trample it  
into dust" by military power. "The President-Elect" he tells us,  
must do this, he cannot even wait for the inauguration. But if  
the Constitution itself stands in the way, what do you think is  
to be done then? Why, declare it *unconstitutional*, to be sure!

The Fourteenth Amendment was long since adopted, and has  
in due form been declared a part of the Constitution; and yet  
ex-Senator Pugh, of Ohio, says :

"I would not give them a three cent postage stamp for their Fourteenth Amendment. It is not part of the Constitution, and it never will be. It is a base fraud, *and I say, as Frank Blair said, these Carpet-bag Governments must be overthrown.*"

This Fourteenth Amendment provides against the repudiation of our national debt, against any recognition of the Rebel claims, and against any payment for the loss of their slaves. You see why this part of the Constitution is so odious, and why Blair, with military feet, means "to trample it into dust."

I have given you the views of leading Seymour and Blair men in their own words. Why should we not expect these views? Vallandingham moved the nomination of Seymour. The Rebel General Preston nominated Blair, and four confederate Generals, with Vallandingham added, made the Ratification Speeches in New York. These speeches, these journals, and these letters, which I have read, tell us that the election of Seymour and Blair will restore the "Lost cause," will justify the Rebellion, and re-instate the South in every right which she had before the revolt. They are right; no honest man can doubt it.

Does any sane man, for one moment, imagine that, if Blair is elected, the South will ever consent to pay a dollar of the debt incurred in putting down their Rebellion?

This cry about the burden of the public debt, is a false cry, raised by the enemies of the Government. The debt grows less, the means of payment grow greater every month: when peace is fairly restored, and the industry of the whole country revives, the debt will not be felt: and before Grant's administration is over, people will wonder that they were ever frightened by this phantom.

Even during the most costly years of the war, when the Southern States were in actual revolt, and, of course, contributed nothing to the revenue; the taxes of the North were easily borne, and the material prosperity of our people was never greater. When hostilities ceased, the expenses of the Government were forthwith vastly diminished, and the productive industry of the country was greatly increased. Millions of the war debt have already been paid, and the income-tax has been reduced one-half.

With the opening of the Pacific Railroad—with the inconceivable increase of wealth which will follow the completion of that work; with the new dawning trade of the East; with the countless emigrants from China whose willing hands will reveal the hidden riches of our soil; with the numberless laborers from Europe now weekly landing upon our shores; with the increasing population and stimulated enterprise of the ever-robust and progressive North, and with all this unite the whole vast resources of the regained and regenerated South; and while the hollow cant, about national bankruptcy and ruin, is droning in our ears, New York will become the monetary centre of the world, gold will be our currency, and the public debt will have ceased to be a burden.

The two great contending principles, which now divide the country, are fairly represented by two Generals:

The one by General Grant, the other by General Blair. No one can doubt upon which side General Grant stands; and General Blair has taken especial pains that no one shall doubt upon which side he stands. The people are going to vote. They will vote for General Grant or for General Blair. Many Democrats now think they will not vote at all; but when the time arrives they will surely vote—all will vote; it will be far the largest vote ever cast; it will be a decisive, an overwhelming vote.

Which of these two Generals shall be your Chief Ruler for the next four years? Which can you most safely trust with this great office, in these unsettled times of much confusion and great distrust?

You want peace, order, security; a revival of our varied industry and a restoration of our whole Union upon terms which are fair and just. To whom will you turn as the safer man?

It will occur to our people, that if Seymour were elected President, he may die, and give place to Blair. Within a few short years three Presidents, just entering upon their term of office, have died; and the Vice Presidents have reigned in their stead. What these Vice Presidents would do, no one could tell—but each *did*, just exactly what the party which elected him did not

wish. Seymour might perish under the weight of office ; and if he did not please the Rebels, some Southern patriot, like Wilkes Booth, might dispose of him. If Seymour were out of the way no one can doubt what Blair would do, he has told us that.

I have known General Grant since the time when he came from the West to take command of the Army of the Potomac. He has impressed me as one of the most remarkable of men. He has always been a Democrat. To the great principles of the Democratic party (which began to perish with the war,) I have always been attached. I believe in coined gold and not in stamped paper ; I believe in liberty protected by law ; I believe that the foreign-born, who have adopted our country, and sworn allegiance to our Government, should have the same rights, and the same protection, (under the Constitution,) as the native-born ; I believe that the Government should act with even justice upon the rich and the poor ; that it should allow the utmost freedom of trade consistent with its absolute necessities for moderate revenue ; that it should not trammel enterprise by legislative monopolies ; that as a Government, it should aim at no paltry imitation of Royal or Imperial splendor ; but be a simple, economical, stern and just Protecting Power, leaving the individual to whatever of luxury and extravagant display his folly may suggest ; that it should relieve its citizens from harrassing taxes, by levying the tax upon few articles, in such manner as to compel every man to pay his just share in accordance with his means ; that it should have no costly army in time of peace, and that the people should, by "eternal vigilance" guard against the absorption of the rights of the States by the Central Power.

Conversations with Gen. Grant had led me to believe that such was the substance of his own views, and I was very desirous that he should be the Democratic candidate. One day at his house in Washington, while he was Secretary of War, I told him that I thought he would make a good Democratic candidate if he was right on the question of negro suffrage. He replied that he had no wish for the Presidency, that he had now a much higher office than he had ever expected,—that General Sherman would make a good President, and that he would gladly give the half that he was worth to make Sherman, or any other fit man, President ; that

his feelings and sentiments were entirely opposed to negro suffrage ; but that he did not wish to be restrained by any pledges from the right to change his opinions in future if new exigencies convinced him that he was wrong ; for, said he, you will remember that early in the war, when I was in command at the west I publicly stated that if the negroes had an insurrection I would hold my army in check until it was put down. But long before the war was over I should have been glad of a negro insurrection, and would have moved my army all the faster. What I want is the Union—the whole country returned to peace and submission to the laws. I do not like universal negro suffrage now, but the freedmen ought to be protected, and if the only way to protect them in their helpless condition is, to give them the suffrage, then I shall be in favor of letting them vote. I want the Union restored, and to have the South come back, obey the laws, and submit as good citizens, and if the future proves that they will not do it without negro suffrage, then I would give them negro suffrage.

Washington never thought more wisely or talked more justly.

That General Grant fairly represents the patriot sentiment of the North, no man can doubt. From the beginning of the war to its close, he was at his post of duty ; always ready, uncomplaining, patient, vigilant and just ; trusting in God, in a righteous cause, and in his own brave men, he never knew a failure. Poor—without a rich friend—with no reputation, and no political influence,—he rose to the head of the army, conducted the greatest war in the annals of time to successful end, and within five short years, from his humble start, his was the foremost name in the civilized world.

His detractors say, that he has no experience in affairs of State ; nor had he experience in war until he commenced it. It is also said that his success in war was owing to good fortune.

So let his success in peace be.

Good fortune is a powerful goddess, and he whom she favors is certain of success.

Washington was first a great General, and then he was a great statesman.

Grant has proved himself a great General, and the same high gifts of firmness, determined purpose, unswerving fidelity, calmness of judgment, justice, moderation and wonderful aptness in the employment of the ability of others, added to a clear common sense approaching to genius, assure us that he will make a President whom we can safely trust.

Seymour has had no experience in the administration of Federal affairs, and has always been noted, as "infirm of purpose, "letting *I dare not*, wait upon *I would*." In July 1863, he made a public speech, very discouraging to every friend of the Government and tending to impair the success of the war. On the same day,—Grant made no speech,—but marched his brave soldiers into Vicksburg, and 30,600 enemies of your country surrendered.

This is the last great issue of our time; the most momentous ever presented for your verdict. You cannot mistake the issue. The dying words of the brave Douglas in our last conflict were, "There can be no neutrals in this war—Only patriots or traitors."

The same issue passed upon by the American People in 1864, is again presented, with added features, more odious and revolting. Then the proposition was, that the "war was a "failure," and ought to cease. Now it is boldly claimed that the Rebellion was right, and that Davis and Lee and Beauregard, and all the other Rebels, educated at public expense, and who turned traitors to the Government, which they had sworn to defend,—whose hands are yet dripping with the blood of Northern men, who went down to death to save the nation's life,—are men of high honor; of whom Blair in his speech of acceptance, with irrepressible enthusiasm, exclaims:

"What civilized people on earth would refuse to associate with "themselves under all the rights, honors and dignities of their "country such men as Lee and Johnston?

"What civilized country on earth would fail to do honor to those "who, fighting for an erroneous cause, yet distinguished themselves "by a gallantry never surpassed, in that contest for which they are "sought to be disfranchised and exiled from their homes; in that "contest they proved themselves worthy to be our peers?"

He should have added—AND WE WISH THEM TO BE OUR MASTERS?

Montgomery Blair, in Alexandria, made his public confession and recantation in these words :

"Many who like myself have opposed secession and rebellion, and "fancied ourselves wiser than the Rebels, if not more patriotic, "will have to confess our mistake. In the present aspect of affairs, "I have to confess that it is yet to be decided whether those who "fought for the Union have not blundered."

In affairs of State, you know that a blunder is a crime. You see why the name of Blair was hailed with such shouts in a Convention where Rebels ruled. Will any but a Rebel vote for him?

Much surprise is felt that the colored freedmen are voting with their late masters. Why be surprised? When these same masters can come to New York, and rule a Convention of Northern white men, why should they not control their recent negro slaves?

Now, we hear that perjured oaths and broken vows of fidelity to the Government are no dishonor, that the war against the revolt was a blunder, that the Emancipation Proclamation of the President, and the deliberate Acts of Congress, are void, and that by force of arms, they are to be swept away at the beck of the South, in order to restore them to their ancient rights.

The Supreme Court of the United States have decided, that by war the Rebels lost all their rights under the Constitution, and that all they can have, is of favor. But of what avail are the Laws of Congress and the decisions of the Supreme Court? Blair promises "*to trample them into dust;*" and next will severely follow a claim that the Rebels shall be paid for the loss of their slaves.

Let us here pause, and ask why they should not be paid? They lost much by the war, and by the Proclamation of Freedom. If the war was unconstitutional and wrong, then surely

the Emancipation Proclamation was void, and the laws by which money was raised to prosecute that war, are void also.

I have presented this issue as the leading Seymour and Blair men have framed it. It is a fair issue—clear, open and bold—there is no dodging this issue.

And now, I ask upon this issue, who will vote against Grant? Will Mr. John Q. Adams, after his recent letter and speech of just rebuke to the South, vote against Grant?

Every Rebel hater of our free Government will vote against Grant.

Every cruel jailor who exposed, starved and robbed our prisoned soldiers, will vote against Grant.

Every aider in those crimes against humanity and against civilization, perpetrated at the Libby and at Andersonville, will vote against Grant.

Every contemner of our flag, despires of our Government and violator of its benign laws, will vote against Grant.

Every Rebel raider from Canada, who robbed and murdered the defenceless people of St. Albans. Every inhuman wretch who plotted to poison your waters, burn your cities, and introduced pestilence into all the North, will vote against Gran

Every traitor, every conspirator who aided in the murder of President Lincoln, and the assassination of Secretary Seward, will vote against Grant.

And some good men, blinded by party prejudice or held in bondage by party fears, may vote against Grant.

But tell me, will any father, the blood of whose only son was shed in his country's cause, vote against Grant?

Will the surviving soldier, who endured the perils, and now shares the glories of successful war, vote against Grant?

Will the trustees of the widow and the orphan and the humble laborer, whose little all is in some savings Institution, dependent wholly upon income derived from Government Bonds, vote against Grant?

Will any Father in the Roman Catholic Church, looking to the welfare of the children of that Church, whose earnings are deposited for safety, and drawing interest from United States securities, vote against Grant?

Will our adopted fellow citizens, upon whose advice millions of foreign capital have been invested here, vote against Grant?

Will any intelligent man of business, merchant, banker, manufacturer, salaried clerk, or day-laborer, who wishes stability, security and prosperity for himself and his children, vote against Grant?

Will any man who does not wish the Nation humbled, treason honored, and patriotism insulted, vote against Grant?

Consider it well fellow-citizens,—vote deliberately,—vote conscientiously,—vote down the patriot,—vote up the Rebel if you will!—vote Grant a failure, and Lee, the Hero of the War:—But,—before you thus vote,—tear down these mocking monuments erected to your patriot dead; demolish every memorial stone at Gettysburgh, and in every place where a grateful nation has reared a soldier's tomb!

Level three hundred thousand little hillocks, under which sleep three hundred thousand young men of the country, they died to save; the grass is very green, so watered by mothers' tears, and the roses bloom well, which mourning sisters and bereaved wives have planted on those graves!—Trample them in the earth—they are all a mockery—the sleepers died in an ignoble cause, and well deserved their doom—and the rotting prisoners of the Libby, and the starving, tortured soldiers at Andersonville, had but their just deserts!

Vote against Grant; and when you see the Rebels, all red with the blood of your mothers' sons, holding high revelry in the Capitol—and confusion, dismay and anarchy in the land—go tell your children:—WE VOTED FOR THAT!

I would have the South treated justly;—yea, very generously; I would take no step for vengeance;—but I would not restore them to power, with their present mad views, and audacious purpose, to subvert the laws, and destroy the liberties of my country.

The vote will soon be cast ; when the ballot has decided an issue in America, the decision conquers even the will :—all submit as to the fiat of God.

As this is the last, so will it be the bitterest contest. In it the son shall be divided against the father, and the father against the son, and a man's foes shall be they of his own household.

It is a war of the mind, a war of ideas—of the will, and of all the evil passions.

THE RESULT IS CERTAIN.

The storm will rage with great blackness, but as the sun rolls down on the 3d of November next, and stamps with the ink of night, the eternal record of that day, you shall see One, calm, serene and well worthy of your trust, rising above the storm, and you shall hear his voice, saying :

“ LET US HAVE PEACE !”



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